844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [751] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con- [852] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

854 In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

844 /119 cont./ advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Relà in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a
853 small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defense-
751 less prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evil spells. On the subject of superstition, it

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (atouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui begins
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

412
564

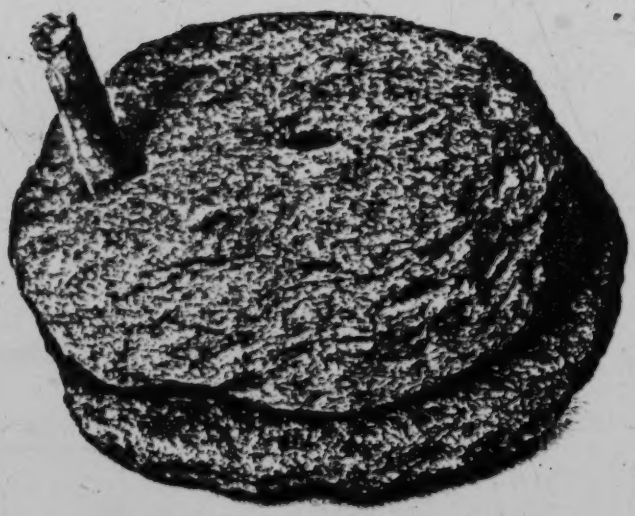

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tasirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanrasset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 252 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *barela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 846 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tawaya* and very thin porridge or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *imawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs.

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehaṛa* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehaṛa* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded

Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 247]